273 They usually obtain it[1] from the Bahutu by trading earthenware
[438] which they have made, although their women are quite adept at brewing beer. They also buy the bananas for it from the Bahutu since they themselves do not own any banana groves.
[563] The Batussi and the Bahutu often drink together but never in company with the Batwa. The latter may not even drink by themselves if a Muhutu or even a Mutussi is in the vicinity.

439 It hardly needs to be mentioned that in a country which is still not opened up to trade and commerce no imported alcohol or European spirits can be found.

276 Also, the smoking of hashish is unknown among the Barundi, although it is very popular among the neighboring Wanjamwesi and although hemp (urumogi) grows in certain districts of Urundi, even far into the interior (No. 19, p. 260). They are acquainted neither with the chewing of betel, which unfortunately has been introduced to large areas of East Africa by the Arabs and Indians, nor with any other stimulants except those mentioned above.

[63] Chapter 5

Games, Dances, Music

517 Like almost all other East African tribes, the children and adults of the Barundi are always ready for games (uwukini), dancing, and amusements. This is true above all of the Batussi who otherwise have nothing or little to do, but also it is true of the large majority of the Bahutu. Even the members of the depressed pariah class of the Batwa are ardent dancers.

857 524 Among the Batussi and the Bahutu many children participate in the games and dances of the adults. Here, as among most Negro tribes, children eight or nine years old are almost as mature as adults. Negro children, after they pass babyhood, never play with the same naïve absorption and gracefulness as our [European] children. There is a whole series of games especially for children and others especially for adults. "Playing

1 [i.e, the Batwa obtain beer. — Analyst]

857 524 soldiers" ranks first among the children's games. [Fig. 15 appears here in the original text.] As everywhere else the boys form two opposing armies, and then they try to outsmart each other by engaging in all kinds of maneuvers and attacking each other with bows and spears without, however, doing any harm to each other. These battle game is of a more serious nature: two groups arm themselves with corncobs or stones and keep bombarding each other until one party has suffered enough casualties and takes to flight. Single combat is taken even more seriously: two boys who have insulted and challenged each other beat away at one another with sticks until one of them runs away.

K. Weule discussed several toys used by Barundi children which are now on display in the Berlin Ethnological Museum (Ethnologisches Notizblatt [Ethnological Notes], Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 48-52). For toys, boys make small swords, bows, arrows, and spears of wood or reed. In the Tanganyika area where guns are known, they also make little rifles out of sorghum stalks or bamboo cane from which a wooden arrow is catapulted by a palm stalk acting as a spring (Fig. 15). The boys also make popguns out of cylindrical pieces of tree bark which is removed from the twig in one piece, in the same manner as European boys cut a whistle. Both openings are closed by a plug of wet bast, and then one plug is pushed [64] into the cylinder with a stick so that the other plug is forced out by the compressed air, giving a loud report.

A popular game in which adults also participate is hoop-throwing (ulubangwe). Two groups of players face each other and, by turns, throw a hoop which the opposite party is supposed to catch in the air. This is to be done neither with the hand nor a stick but by means of a piece of cord whose forward end is forked. Each end of this fork has an empty corncob fastened to it. The hoop must be caught in this end of the cord which is tossed toward it. The party who most often succeeds at this is pronounced the winner.

Small kites are made out of pieces of the very light pith of rushes which are held together by a small rod. The tail of the kite is made of a piece of barkcloth. These contraptions fly as

[Text continues on page 95]

857 badly as the little kites made out of newspapers which European
524 children like to build (Weule, loc. cit., p. 51).

Boys and girls like to play at hiding nuts in the sand. This is quite similar to a game played by European children. Squatting on the ground, they make a little heap of sand, put a small nut inside, and divide the heap into five or six segments. The player who has scratched open the greatest number of segments before hitting on the nut is the winner.

The children make tops (irebe) out of a small pumpkin or the shell of a dry fruit which is pierced with a little stick. A bast string is wound around the stick and then quickly pulled by means of a cleft piece of wood held in the other hand. By piercing holes into the top, it is made to produce a buzzing sound (No. 19, p. 320 and Weule, loc. cit., p. 51).

The boys have stick-throwing contests. Each of them takes two sticks, and in turn they hurl their sticks, like spears, from the same place toward the same direction. Anyone whose stick is thrown farther than another stick is entitled to take the other stick and add it to his own collection. The player who ends up with the greatest number of sticks is the winner.

Balls for games are made of all kinds of elastic material. The children throw them to each other or hit them with a stick.

The game of hide-and-seek is also popular, of course. The child who has been discovered in his hiding place must in turn seek the others. As among the Banjaruanda, jumping over a high string or stick is also practiced.

Girls are given less time for playing than boys. From an early age they have to help with the house work, take care of their little brothers and sisters, fetch water, litter, etc., thus getting used to the idea, common to all these peoples, that the woman is a veritable work animal. Even they have some free time, however, which they use mostly for playing with dolls. They make the dolls (umwana) themselves out of a small pumpkin which has been laced tightly in the middle. Eyes, nose, and mouth are indicated by a few holes scratched on one side of the sphere, arms and hands by means of a few strokes on the other side. Or they use the conical reddish blossom of the banana plant. Sometimes a piece of bast material

857 524 is used to make a dress for the doll which is then carried on the back as mothers carry their children.

[65] When they are not drinking or gossiping, the adult 526 men spent their leisure time shooting arrows at a stick placed at a distance of up to 100 meters or more or by lance-throwing contests at any distant object. In the Tanganyika region a quiet 524 sitting game in which only two persons can participate is very popular. It is a game played on a board (ikisoro) resembling [177] our checker board. It is known to the Wasuaheli as mbao and probably has been imported from there to the Tanganyika area by way of Unjamwesi. From Tanganyika it also penetrated to a few chiefs of central Urundi. The board is rounded off at the edges and has four rows of little bowl-shaped hollows of which there are 32 altogether. Small stones or fruit pits are placed in them. By a complicated system of moves and counter-moves by which one opponent may take stones from the other, one player finally wins all the stones of his opponent. A precise description would lead us too far here, and in any case the game is known from the East African coastal areas.

Weule described (loc. cit., p. 52) the game of patience, ikifundo, that is played in Usige on the north shore of Lake [177] Tanganyika. It was probably an import from the Arabs or the Wasuaheli. I have not seen it myself.

There are also other widespread games, as, for instance, the string games, which I have not seen played by children or adults.

535 Dances (ivino, uruvino) are included here since they are to a certain extent mere "games." It is true that only a minority of dances are executed for their own sake as amusement; most of them are connected with some family, social, war, or religious celebration and are danced only on these special occasions. They all resemble each other in form, however, and may be described together here, except the religious ones which we shall discuss in the chapter on "Religion" (see p. 127).

Like the Banjaruanda, the Barundi are enthusiastic dancers and dance whenever they have the opportunity. "To amuse oneself, to play, to sing and to dance are synonymous words. They dance well, elegantly (especially the women), even with

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On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments. There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went barefooted.

The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c. were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

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woman's divorce was not yet completely settled (i.e. if the exchange of marriage-gifts and counter-gifts had not taken place), the former husband was still regarded as a pater of the child and the genitor had to pay him the child-wealth, if he wanted to have the child.

My male informants affirmed not to know of any contraceptives and they did not think that women knew better. In Ruanda culture, they would probably have been used exclusively for premarital relations. One informant, however, stressed the fact that too many pregnancies were bad for very poor people not having enough cow-milk and goat-milk to give to their babies, who then often died from malnutrition or from intestinal diseases (goat-milk was regarded as vermifugal). A certain herb called *umuhoko* was known for its abortive effects and used sometimes by pregnant unmarried girls with the help of their mother.

(*d*) *Socialization*

The young Ruanda spent the first years of his life in his mother's compound. There the first stages of the long process of his socialization, which was completed only after he had achieved marriage and parenthood, took place.

In matters of education, as in others, the supreme authority in the compound was the father. The paternal uncle could discipline his nephews and nieces only when they were in his compound or when the father was not present. His role was that of a substitute for the father. The maternal uncle had no authority except where the bride-wealth had not been paid. The mother had no authority of her own and had to be backed up by the father. It is clear, however, that in everyday life and particularly when the children were young, the mother was a disciplinarian and the main agent of socialization.

The training for the different activities expected to be mastered by any member of his caste began early for the child. From weaning (when they were about two years old) to the age of five, children were supposed to be clean, quiet, and not to wander far from the compound. Not later than five years old, children began to collect wood, to carry water, to watch goats and calves. A ten-year-old boy was taught how to handle a hoe and worked with his father in the fields. A girl learned how to light a fire, to brush, and to carry out the household duties of a woman. Boys from twelve to